Language contact in the northernmost regions of the Pacific Northwest: Tlingit elements in Tahltan

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Abstract: Tahltan has been noticeably affected by Tlingit on the lexical level. The purpose of this study is to present to the reader that portion of Tahltan lexicon that is rooted in Tlingit, and to describe semantic and morphological properties of, and phonemic changes undergone by, Tlingit-derived vocabulary. I will also show that Tahltan←Tlingit lexical copying is not merely a corollary of trade-related contact, and that migrations, remigrations and intermarriage were the fundamental driving forces behind such vocabulary transfer.

Keywords: Tahltan, Tlingit, language contact, lexical copying, morpho-semantics of copied lexicon, socio-cultural interaction

1   Introduction

The subject matter of this article is a lexical copying link that connects Tahltan with Tlingit. Tahltan, an Athabascan language, is still spoken in northwestern British Columbia, and borders on Tlingit, a Na-Dene language that has speakers in British Columbia, Yukon, and Alaska.

In Nater 1989:41, I stated that retention of the uvular series in Tahltan is due to Tlingit influence, and that some Tahltan vocabulary, too, is of Tlingit origin, while in Nater 2016 (essentially a follow-up on Nater 1994:180, 8th to 5th lines from bottom), the Tlingit origin of Tahltan *kóŝa* 'urine odor' and Lillooet *kʷ‧sạʔ* 'urinate (men or animals)' was contemplated. Although my earlier claims in re Tlingit influence remain valid, I have to date shown only seven instances of Tahltan←Tlingit copying in print (five in Nater 1989, two in Nater 2016). As many more such pairs have been on record for quite some time, publication of a comprehensive list of Tahltan←Tlingit copied lexicon is long overdue: in this contribution, I provide such a list. In Section 2 below, I consider the geographic proximity, trade routes, and migration patterns that made Tahltan-Tlingit linguistic interaction possible; in Section 3, I identify the Tahltan and Tlingit phoneme inventories as well as phonemic shifts that affected copied lexicon, and ascertain a one-way direction of copying; in Section 4, the data as such are presented; in Section 5, I discuss less often considered factors that have played vital roles in the transfer of Tlingit lexicon, degrees of copyability that can only be ascribed to intimate contact, and a pseudo-suffix /-a, -e/.

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2 Trade routes and contact areas

Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, mercantile interaction between Tahltan and Tlingit traders happened mainly in or through the following zones:

- via the Chilkoot Trail, an established Tlingit (*Jilḵoot Ḵwáan*) trade route prior to the Klondike Gold Rush, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilkoot_Trail#Indigenous_use;

- in the area comprising Teslin (*Deisleen Ḵwáan*), Carcross/Tagish, Atlin (*Áa Tlein Ḵwáan*), and Taku (*T'aaḵu Ḵwáan*) (Emmons 1911);

- north of Wrangell (*Shtax'héen Ḵwáan*) where Tlingit merchants traveled up the Stikine to meet with Tahltan traders (Emmons 1911).

Earlier, migrations and remigrations had taken place, predominantly in the Taku-Tahltan and Stikine-Tahltan regions (Emmons 1911:20–21; see further Section 5.2). The portion of the map by Hope 2000 that includes the above-mentioned locations is shown below.
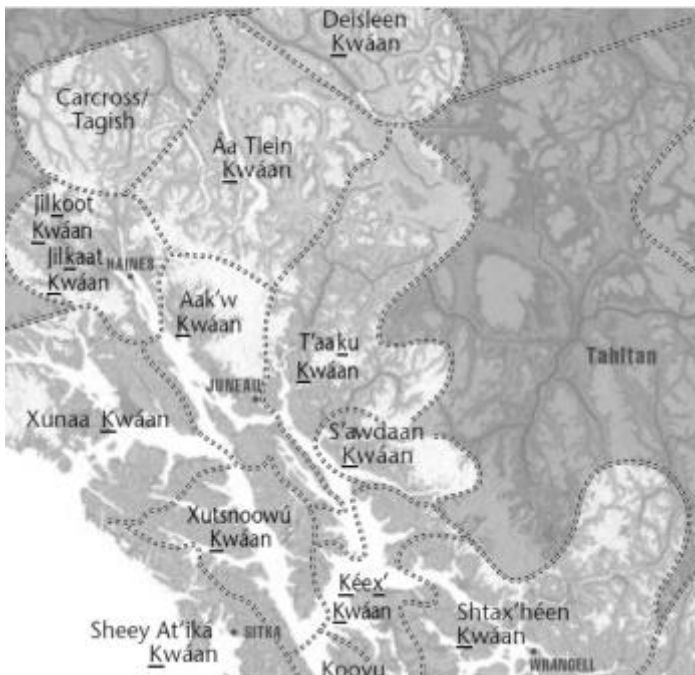

Figure 1 Tlingit territory bordering on Tahltan

On Tlingit-Tahltan contact and migrations, and the coastal origin of the inland Tlingit, De Laguna 1972 states:

From southeastern Alaska, access to the interior beyond the mountains is possible only along such rivers as the Stikine and Taku, or from the head of Lynn Canal in the northwest over the White, Chilkoot, and Chilkat Passes. These inland routes, or "grease trails," were formerly controlled by local Tlingit sibs who monopolized the trade with the Athabaskan bands in the interior. Down these valleys in ancient days, according to Tlingit tradition, had come adventurous groups who lost their original identities and became Tlingit sibs. In reverse direction have also moved small groups of coastal Tlingit who went to find inland homes. … These Inland Tlingit live a life which is largely indistinguishable from that of their Athabaskan neighbors, based as it must be upon the hunting of moose and (formerly) caribou, trapping fur bearers to trade, and catching fish in inland lakes or at the headwaters of the rivers. The climate is continental, with great extremes in temperature, but is much drier than on the coast. It is a harsh land, of scattered food resources and consequently of relatively small, wandering bands. (De Laguna 1972:15)

For further details on Tahltan-Tlingit interaction, see Section 5.2.

3   Phoneme inventories of Tahltan and Tlingit, phonemic shifts

The data in Section 4 reveal sound changes that transpired after Tlingit words were copied into Tahltan. In order to determine the nature and origin of these changes, I collate the Tahltan and Tlingit phoneme inventories in Figures 2 and 3 below. A comparison yields the following findings: Tlingit rounded uvulars and glottalic fricatives are not matched in Tahltan, while Tlingit lacks labials, interdentals, and certain fricatives, sonorants and vowels found in Tahltan (phonemes not common to both languages are shaded). Further on, I show that many of these differences are the result of phonemic shifts within Tahltan that also influenced Tlingit lexicon copied into Tahltan.

The Tahltan phonemes can be tabulated as shown in Figure 2 below. Lenis plosives (/b/, /d/, etc.) are phonetically voiced. Voicedness of lenis plosives is especially evident in word-final position: *liyáˑb* […bə̥] 'devil', *díˑzeλ* [...d̥] 'this only', *ʔéˑŝĉeˑd* […də̥] 'I have eaten'. Fortis oral stops are voiceless and aspirated, while fortis affricates are likewise voiceless, but have an optionally slightly prolonged fricative release (e.g. *caʔ* 'beaver' = [ˑ⁽ˢ⁾ɑʔ], not *[ˑʰɑʔ]). I write /ë/ where /e/ alternates with /ə/ (cf. Nater 1989:29), and /ŝ/, /ẑ/ etc. = [θ~ş], [ð~ẕ], etc. (Nater 1989:39). I have recorded /ˑ/ only in *taˑ•* 'town' and *gəndáˑ•* idiolectal variant of *gəmdáˑ•* 'horse'.

Tahltan consonants

b	d	ʒ̂	ʒ	ž	λ		g	ɢ	gʷ	
	t	ĉ	c	č	ƛ		k	q	kʷ	ʔ
	t'	ĉ'	c'	č'	ƛ'		k'	q'	k'ʷ	
m	n	ẑ	z	ž	l	y	γ	ʁ	w	
(·)	·	ŝ	s	š	ł	ẙ	x	χ	xʷ	h
	n'									

Tahltan vowels

i [i]	ə [ɪ]	e	a	o	u
iˑ		eˑ	aˑ	oˑ	uˑ

Figure 2 Tahltan phoneme inventory (Nater 1986 & 1989:27)

Again, Tlingit differs from Tahltan in that it lacks phonemes shaded in Figure 2, whereas it features glottalic fricatives and rounded uvulars shaded in Figure 3 (formerly also */ʮ/ = "ɏ", see Krauss & Leer 1981:146) that are absent in Tahltan. Note that /n/, /y/, /w/ pattern as voiced fricatives in Tahltan, but as sonorants in Tlingit.

Tlingit consonants

d	ʒ	ž	λ	g	ɢ	gʷ	ɢʷ	
t	c	č	ƛ	k	q	kʷ	qʷ	ʔ
t'	c'	č'	ƛ'	k'	q'	k'ʷ	q'ʷ	
	s	š	ł	x	χ	xʷ	χʷ	h
	s'		ł'	x'	χ'	x'ʷ	χ'ʷ	
	n	y	*ʮ			w		

Tlingit vowels

i [ɪ]	e	a	u
iˑ	eˑ	aˑ	uˑ

Figure 3 Tlingit phoneme inventory (based on Edwards 2009:12)

Shifts that have affected Tlingit-derived Tahltan lexicon are itemized below. Parenthesized numbers refer to entries in Section 4 that have undergone these changes. Shifts (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) are correlated with dissimilarities marked in Figures 2–3, and (a), (b), (d), (e), (h) with phonological developments in Tahltan shown in Figure 4 and mentioned in Section 5.3. Henceforth, C = consonant, V = vowel.

(a) Tlingit /…w…n…/ → Tahltan /…m…n…/ (1, 36, 78);

(b) Except in recent borrowings, (I) Tlingit /s/ series → Tahltan /ŝ/ series (14–22, 32, 38, 39, 49, 51, 54, 64, 66, 69, 79) and (II) Tlingit /š/ series → Tahltan /s/ series (24, 25, 53, 86);

(c) Tlingit glottalic fricative → Tahltan glottalic plosive: /s'/ → /ĉ'/ (→ /ŝ#/); /x'/ → /k'/ (→/k#/); /ɬ'/ → /λ'/ (→/λ#/); /χ'(ʷ)/ → /q'/ (→/q#/) (5, 9, 11, 16–20, 33, 34, 41, 47, 51, 57, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 69, 74, 77, 79, 83, 84, 85);

(d) (I) Tlingit /V(ˑ)Kʷ/ → Tahltan /o(ˑ)K, u(ˑ)K/ (9, 22, 30, 34, 43, 44, 60) and (II) Tlingit /Kʷã/ → Tahltan /Ko/ (54, 58) (/K/ = velar or uvular);

(e) Tlingit /Vn#/ is always copied as /Vˑ#/ (22, 34, 36, 45, 52, 55, 72, 79, 88);

(f) In copied trisyllables, stress often falls on the first vowel (CV́C(C)VCV) (1, 6, 10, 14, 20, 30, 32, 53, 55, 66, 69, 70, 78, 85, 86);

(g) Scrambling: phoneme(s) added and/or altered, sequence changed (10, 23, 26, 32, 35, 66, 77, 79, 80, 81);

(h) Occasionally (in seventeen out of sixty-three entries), Tlingit /VC#/ → Tahltan /VCa#, VCe#/ (where copied Tlingit voiceless /C/ usually undergoes voicing in Tahltan, see Section 5.3) (13, 21, 23, 29, 33, 38, 39, 40, 46, 47, 53, 54, 75, 77, 83, 86, 89).

(a), (b), (d), (e), (h) are not just linked with Tlingit→Tahltan lexical copying, but are concomitant with systemic phonological developments in Tahltan. This is a strong indication that copying was indeed done from Tlingit to Tahltan (before sound changes took effect), rather than the other way around. For instance, Tlingit certainly would not have copied Tahltan *ĉ'iˑnaˑ* as *s'iˑná* (16), *ʔéˑλa* as *éɬ'* (83), *k'ək* as *k'ink'* (57), etc. Also, the Tlingit forms generally have a more archaic appearance and more transparent structure – in terms of analyzability – than their Tahltan matches (e.g. entries 20, 22, 31, 34, 35, 39, 65, 69, 78, 80, 84). Figure 4 below illustrates pre-Tahltan shifts that parallel (a), (bI–II), (dI–II), (e) (with samples copied from Nater 1989:32–38).

Shift	Proto-Athabascan	Tahltan
*\/…w…n…\/ → \/…m…n…\/	*wən 'lake'	me·
*\/s\/ series → \/ŝ\/ series	*ce· 'stone'	ĉe·
*\/š\/ series → \/s\/ series	*t'e·ʔš 'charcoal'	t'e·s
*\/əKʷ\/ → \/oK\/	*λ'əχʷ 'grass'	λ'ox
*\/Kʷə\/ → \/Ko\/	*qʷən' 'fire'	kon'
*\/n#\/ → \/·#\/	*dəkən 'stick'	dečə́·

Figure 4 Phonemic shifts from proto-Athabascan to Tahltan

4   The data

Tahltan entries listed below are from Nater 1986, while Tlingit data has been copied from Edwards 2009 (except where otherwise noted). Chinook Jargon words have been copied from Gibbs 1863. Entries copied from sources other than Nater 1986 have been retranscribed into a phonemic orthography.

(1)   Tahltan *ménedu·* 'domestic sheep' ← Tlingit *wanadú·* 'id.' (← **maladú·* ← Chinook Jargon *lamato*) || \/m\/ ← \/w\/, CV́CVCV

(2)   Tahltan *dá·na·* 'money' ← Tlingit *dá·na·* 'id.' (← Chinook Jargon *dala*)

(3)   Tahltan *du·š* 'cat' ← Tlingit *dú·š* 'id.' (← Chinook Jargon *puspus/pišpiš*)

(4)   Tahltan *ta·ɬ* 'flat basket' ← Tlingit *tá·ɬ* 'id.'

(5)   Tahltan *ta·q'áλ* 'needle' ← Carcross Tlingit *tá·χ'áɬ'* 'id.', see http://www. drangle.com/~james/athabaskan/tahltan.html || \/q'\/← \/χ'\/, \/λ#\/ ← \/λ'\/ ← \/ɬ'\/

(6)   Tahltan *tóq'ata·ɬ* 'pants, trousers' ← Tlingit *tuq'atá·ɬ* 'id.' || CV́CVCVC

(7)   Tahltan *tuhá·ɣe* 'nail, spike' ← Tlingit *tuhá·yi* 'id.'

(8)   Tahltan *t'í·ya* 'fish hook' ← Tlingit *t'e·χá·* 'id.' || \/y\/ ← \/ɣ\/ ← \/ʁ\/? (cf. Nater 1989:32)

(9)   Tahltan *t'o·q* 'wart' ← Tlingit *t'á·χ'ʷ* 'id.' || \/o·q#\/ ← \/a·qʷ#\/ ← \/a·q'ʷ#\/ ← \/a·χ'ʷ#\/

(10)   Tahltan *t'ú·šneɣet, t'ú·šʁane(·)t* 'bottle' ← Tlingit *t'u·č'ine·t* 'id.' || CV́CCVCV, scrambling

(11)   Tahltan *t'u·k* 'stinging nettle' ← Tlingit *t'ú·k'* 'id.' || \/k#\/ ← \/k'#\/

(12)   Tahltan *ná·wi* 'liquor' ← Tlingit *ná·w* 'id.' (← Chinook Jargon *lam*) || Tahltan \/…i\/ ← Tlingit \/-i\/ 'its (poss.)'

(13)   Tahltan √*na·gʷ*, √*na·we* 'medicine' ← Tlingit *ná·kʷ* 'id.' || (\/…e#\/ added)

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(14) Tahltan *ĉə́daˑt'aˑχ* 'kerchief' ← Tlingit *sadaˑt'aˑy* 'id.' ‖ irreg. /ĉ/ ← /ŝ/ ← /s/, /χ/ ← /ʁ/ ← Tlingit */ɰ/?, CV́CVCV

(15) Tahltan *ĉaˑŝ* 'bear root' ← Tlingit *cáˑc* 'id.' ‖ /ĉ/ ← /c/, irreg. /ŝ/ ← /c/

(16) Tahltan *ĉ'íˑna* 'candle' ← Tlingit *s'iˑná* 'lamp' ‖ /ĉ'/ ← /s'/

(17) Tahltan *ĉ'iˑq* 'tobacco' (cf. 20) ← Tlingit *s'eˑq* 'smoke' ‖ /ĉ'/ ← /s'/

(18) Tahltan *ĉ'əŝá* 'cloth' ← Tlingit *s'isaˑ* 'id.'‖ /ĉ'/ ← /s'/, /ŝ/ ← /s/

(19) Tahltan *ĉ'eλ* 'rubber' ← Tlingit *s'éɬ'* 'id.' ‖ /ĉ'/ ← /s'/, /λ#/ ← /λ'/ ← /ɬ'/

(20) Tahltan *ĉ'áχdaˑqeˑt* 'tobacco pipe' (cf. 17) ← Tlingit *s'iqdaˑkeˑt* 'id.' (*daˑkeˑt* 'container') ‖ /ĉ'/ ← /s'/, vowel assimilation, irreg. /χ/ ← /q/ and /q/ ← /k/, CV́CCVCV

(21) Tahltan *ŝáˑga* 'eulachon' ← Tlingit *saˑk* 'id.' ‖ /ŝ/ ← /s/, /...a#/ added, /gV#/ ← /k#/

(22) Tahltan *ŝuknéˑ•* 'flour' ← Tlingit *sakʷnéˑn* 'flour, bread' (← Chinook Jargon *sapolil*) ‖ /ŝ/ ← /s/, /uk/ ← /akʷ/

(23) Tahltan *c'eqóʜɢe ~ č'ehqóx* 'skin canoe' ← Tlingit *ǯaˑqúχ* 'id.' ‖ irreg. /c', č'/ ← /ǯ/, insertion of /h/, irreg. /ɢ, x/ ← /χ/, scrambling, /...e#/ added in one allomorph

(24) Tahltan *skádi* 'crazy, insane' ← Tlingit *š kahaˑdí* 'id.' ‖ /s/ ← /š/

(25) Tahltan *sáˑnah* 'valley' ← Tlingit *šaˑnáχ* 'id.' ‖ /s/ ← /š/, /h/ ← /χ/

(26) Tahltan *sóga* 'being fine, doing well' ← Tlingit *sagú* 'joy' ‖ scrambling: /ó/ ⇆ /a/

(27) Tahltan *čiɣéˑt* 'pillow' ← Tlingit *šayeˑt* 'id.' ‖ irreg. /č/ ← /š/, /y/ ← */ɰ/?

(28) Tahltan *čəɬ* 'cache' ← Tlingit *číɬ* 'id.'

(29) Tahltan *čáˑǯe* 'humpback salmon' ←Tlingit *čáˑs'* 'id.' ‖ shibilant assimilation (/ǯV/ ← /č#/ ← /č'/ ← /c'/, cf. Nater 1989:27–28), /...e#/ added

(30) Tahltan *čóɢena* 'towel' ← Tlingit *ǯiɢʷéˑna* 'id.' ‖ CV́CVCV, /oɢ/ ← /iɢʷ/, irreg. /č/ ← /ǯ/

(31) Tahltan *dáˑnaˑ<u>šuˑ</u>* '<u>half</u> dollar' ← Tlingit *dáˑnaˑ<u>šuˑwú</u>* 'id.'

(32) Tahltan *λ'áŝakeˑŝ, λ'áŝaqeˑt* 'ring' ← Tlingit *λ'iqkakíˑs* 'id.' ‖ CV́CVCV, /ŝ/ ← /s/, scrambling

(33) Tahltan *λ'úˑga* 'coho' ← Tlingit *ɬ'uˑk* 'id.' ‖ /λ'/ ← /ɬ'/, /...a#/ added, /gV#/ ← /k#/

(34) Tahltan *λ'uꞏkʼéꞏ* 'socks' ← Tlingit *ɬʼíꞏxʷán* 'id.' ("wool boot") ‖ /λʼ/ ← /ɬʼ/, /uꞏkʼ/ ← /iꞏxʼʷ/

(35) Tahltan *ɬegáyi* 'avalanche area' ← Tlingit *λeꞏt qaꞏdí* 'avalanche' ("snow slide") ‖ irreg. shifts (scrambling)

(36) Tahltan *gəmdáꞏ* 'horse' ← Tlingit *gawdáꞏn* 'id.' (← Chinook Jargon *kiúatan*) ‖ /m/ ← /w/

(37) Tahltan *gešúꞏ* 'pig, pork' ← Teslin/Carcross Tlingit *gešúꞏ*, see http://www. drangle.com/~james/athabaskan/tahltan.html (← Chinook Jargon *košó*)

(38) Tahltan *gáꞏʒa* 'forked tent pole' ← Tlingit *gáꞏsʼ* 'house post' ‖ /ʒV/ ← /ĉ#/ ← /ĉʼ/ ← /sʼ/, /…a#/ added

(39) Tahltan *gáꞏẑe, gáꞏẑa* 'jackpine' ← Tlingit *šáčk kaʔaꞏsí* 'id.' ("swamp mast") (/-i/ 'its (poss.)') ‖ irreg. /g/ ← /k/, /…e#, …a#/ added , /ẑV/ ← /ŝ/ ← /s/

(40) Tahltan *gáꞏne* 'smoke vent' ← Tlingit *gaꞏn* 'smokehole' ‖ /…e#/ added

(41) Tahltan √*gaꞏg* = /√gaꞏg-•/ 'pray' ← Tlingit √*gaꞏxʼ* 'id.' ‖ /g•#/ ← /k#/ ← /kʼ/ ← /xʼ/

(42) Tahltan *gaꞏw* 'drum, bell, clock' ← Tlingit *gaꞏw* 'id.'

(43) Tahltan √*goλ* 'punch' ← Tlingit √*gʷaɬ*, √*gʷaꞏɬ* 'id.' ‖ /go/ ← /gʷa/, irreg. /λ/ ← /ɬ/

(44) Tahltan *goxéꞏʔ* 'cranberry' ← Tlingit *kaxʷéꞏχ* 'id.' ‖ irreg. /g/ ← /k/, /ox/ ← /axʷ/, irreg. /eꞏʔ/ ← *\/eꞏh/ ← /eꞏχ/

(45) Tahltan *guꞏ* 'gold' ← Tlingit *gúꞏn* 'id.' (← English *gold*)

(46) Tahltan *gúꞏna* 'springwater' ← Tlingit *guꞏn* 'spring (of water)' ‖ /…a#/ added

(47) Tahltan √*gúꞏλe* 'burl' ← Tlingit *gúnɬʼ* 'id.' ‖ /λV/ ← /λ#/ ← /λʼ/ ← /ɬʼ/, /…e#/ added

(48) Tahltan *ketʼišáꞏ* 'awl, needle' ← Teslin/Carcross Tlingit *ketʼíšaꞏ* 'id.', see http://www.drangle.com/~james/athabaskan/tahltan.html

(49) Tahltan *kenéꞏŝ* 'cross' ← Tlingit *kanéꞏst* 'id.' (← Russian *крест*) ‖ /ŝ/ ← /s/ ← /st/, /n/ ←*\/l/ ← /r/

(50) Tahltan *kënáꞏʔët* 'coat' ← Tlingit *kinaꞏʔát* 'id.'

(51) Tahltan *keĉʼóꞏq, qeĉʼóꞏq* 'northern lights' ← Tlingit *gisʼúꞏq* 'id.' ‖ /ĉʼ/ ← /sʼ/ (/k/ → /q/ assimilation)

(52) Tahltan *kexʷáꞏ* 'silver fox' ← Tlingit *kaxʷaꞏn naꞏas'éꞏ* 'id.' (*kaxʷaꞏn, kexʷaꞏn* (Carcross) 'frost', *naꞏas'éꞏ* 'fox', see

(53) Tahltan *keɬʹsese* 'red willow' ← Tlingit *keˑšíš* 'alder' (but <u>which</u> 'red willow' would resemble alders?) || /s/ ← /š/, /…e#/ added, CV́CVCV

(54) Tahltan *kóŝa* 'urine odor' ← Tlingit *kʷas* 'urine' (Krauss 1970:1176) || /ŝ/ ← /s/, /ko/ ← /kʷa/, /…a#/ added

(55) Tahltan *kúwagaˑ•* 'deer' ← Tlingit *ɢuwakaˑn* 'id.' || /g/ ⇆ /k/, /g/ ← /ɢ/, CV́CVCV

(56) Tahltan *kuˑx* 'rice' ← Tlingit *kúˑx* 'id.'

(57) Tahltan *k'ək* 'cured fish heads' ← Tlingit *k'ínk'* 'id.' || /k#/ ← /k'#/

(58) Tahltan *k'oλ* 'pot' ← Tlingit *q'ʷáλ* 'id.' || /k'o/ ← /q'ʷa/

(59) Tahltan *k'unc* 'potatoes' ← Tlingit *k'únc'* 'id.' || /c#/ ← /c'/

(60) Tahltan *k'ugáλ* 'safety pin' ← Tlingit *χ'éˑgʷáɬʹ* 'id.' || /k'/ ← /q'/ ← /χ'/, /ug/ ← /eˑgʷ/, /λ#/ ← /λ'/ ← /ɬ'/

(61) Tahltan *k'uk* 'book' ← Tlingit *x'úx'* 'id.' || /k'/ ← /x'/, /k#/ ← /x'#/

(62) Tahltan *k'uk'áˑ* 'cup' ← Tlingit *gúx'aˑ* 'id.' || /k'₂/ ← /x'/, irreg. /k'₁/ ← /g/ (assimilation)

(63) Tahltan *xət* 'house' ← Tlingit *hít* 'id.'

(64) Tahltan *xaˑŝ* 'leather' ← Tlingit *a xáˑs'i* 'its skin (of fish)' or *xaˑs* 'bison, muskox, cow, horse'

(65) Tahltan *ɢáyesdáˑnaˑ* 'small change' ← Tlingit *ɢayéˑs'* 'iron, tin', *dáˑnaˑ* 'money' (for which see entry (2))

(66) Tahltan *qəĉ'áχoˑʁeˑt* 'frying pan' ← Tlingit *kas'úgʷaˑ yeˑt* 'id.' || irreg. /q/ ← /k/, scrambling, /ĉ'/ ← /s'/, …CV́CVCV, Tlingit /y/ ← */ɥ/?

(67) Tahltan *qanúˑkʷ* 'phoebe' ← Tlingit *ɢanuˑk* 'petrel' (however, these birds represent different species that are found in different environments)

(68) Tahltan *qáˑtuˑ* 'chickadee' ← Tlingit *qaˑtuˑwú* 'id.'

(69) Tahltan *qáˑχʔóȝaˑ* 'soap' ← Tlingit *qáˑ-χ ʔús'aˑ* 'man-on soap' (see http://www. drangle.com/~james/athabaskan/tahltan.html) ← *ʔús'aˑ* 'soap' || CV́CCVCV, irreg. /ȝ/ ← */ĉ'/ ← /s'/

(70) Tahltan *qáˑwaˑɢa* 'window' ← Tlingit *χaˑwaˑɢéˑ* 'id.' || CV́CVCV, irreg. /a/ ← /eˑ/, irreg. /q/ ← /χ/

(71) Tahltan *quˑq* 'box' ← Tlingit *qúˑk* 'id.' || /q/ assimilation

(72) Tahltan *q'anaˑχá•* 'fence, enclosure' ← Tlingit *q'anáˑχán* 'id.' (← Chinook Jargon *q'əláχan*)

(73) Tahltan *q'aɬtú* 'pocket' ← Tlingit *ɢaɬtú* 'id.' || irreg. /q'/ ← /ɢ/

(74) Tahltan *q'aχáˑdi* 'door' ← Tlingit *χ'aháˑt* 'id.' || /q'/ ← /χ'/, Tahltan /…i/ ← Tlingit /-i/ 'its (poss.)'

(75) Tahltan *q'aχáˑne* 'effeminate man, "sissy"' ← Tlingit *q'atχáˑn* 'coward' || cluster alleviation, /…e#/ added

(76) Tahltan *gʷeɬ* 'bag, sack' ← Tlingit *gʷéɬ* 'id.'

(77) Tahltan *k'ʷáˑɢa* 'coho (in fresh water)' ← Tlingit *χ'áˑkʷ* 'id.' || scrambling (*k'ʷáˑɢa* ← *k'ʷaˑq* ← *q'aˑkʷ* ← *χ'áˑkʷ*), /…a#/ added

(78) Tahltan *wáχdáˑnaˑ*, *máχ dáˑnaˑ* 'glasses' ← Tlingit *waqdáˑnaˑ* 'id.' ("eye-money") || CV́CCVCV, /m/ ← /w/

(79) Tahltan *ʔišohqáˑ•*, *ʔišĉ'ohqáˑ•* 'whiteman' ← Tlingit *gusˑk'iyiˑ qʷáˑn* 'id.' || scrambling

(80) Tahltan *ʔiɬšáˑwët* 'widow' ← Tlingit *ɬ s'aˑti šaˑwát* 'id.' (*s'aˑti* 'man, master', *šaˑwát* 'woman') || scrambling

(81) Tahltan *ʔetutéˑy*, *ʔetutéˑɣi* 'bullet' ← Tlingit *at katé* 'id.' || cluster alleviation, scrambling

(82) Tahltan *ʔeλíˑ*, *ʔeλáˑ* 'mother' ← Tlingit *λáˑ* 'id.' || irreg. /λV/ ← /λV/

(83) Tahltan *ʔéˑλa* 'sea, ocean' ← Tlingit *éɬ'* 'ocean, salt water' || /λV#/ ← /λ#/ ← /λ'/ ← /ɬ'/, /…a#/ added

(84) Tahltan *ʔeɬkúˑx* 'salt' ← Tlingit *éɬ kúˑx* 'id.' ("ocean-rice", cf. 83, 56)

(85) Tahltan *ʔašána-gʷaλ* 'night hawk' ("makes fart-like noise with its wings when completing its dive") ← Tlingit *ɢʷaɬ'* 'fart' || …CV́CVCV, /λ#/ ← /λ'/ ← /ɬ'/

(86) Tahltan *ʔáˑseda* 'steelhead' ← Tlingit *aˑšát* 'id.' || CV́CVCV, /s/ ← /š/, /…a#/ added, /dV#/ ← /t#/

(87) Tahltan *ʔúnaˑ* 'gun' ← Tlingit *úˑnaˑ* 'id.'

(88) Tahltan *√ʔuˑ•* 'shoot' ← Tlingit *√ʔun* 'id.'

(89) Tahltan *déˑla*, *déˑle* 'pitchwood' ← Tlingit *téɬ* 'pitchwood' || /…a#, …e#/ added, /lV#/ ← /ɬ#/, irreg. /d/ ← /t/

There are in Tahltan a few loan translations as well. These, the numerals 6–9, consist of a fossilized prefix /naˑs-/ followed by 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four', and are calques from Tlingit. /naˑs-/ may continue older **/naⁿʔ-s-/ (compare proto-Athabascan **/naˑn'-/ 'across' (Krauss & Leer 1981:198) and perhaps /-s-/ 'formative' (Nater 1986)). While similar formations do not appear to exist in other Athabascan languages, Tlingit has terms for 6–8 that are analogous to the

Tahltan ones, but with the suffix /-(a)duˑšú/ (as per Krauss 2009 of verbal origin: 'extending to') added to 'one', 'two', 'three':

	'one'	'two'	'three'	'four'
Tahltan	*ɬə́ge*	*ɬaké˙*	*táˑtʼe*	*ɬéˑntʼe*
Tlingit	*ƛéˑxʼ*	*déˑχ*	*násˑk*	*daˑxʼuˑn*

	'six'	'seven'	'eight'	'nine'
Tahltan	*naˑs-ɬə́ge*	*naˑs-ɬaké˙*	*naˑs-táˑtʼe, naˑs-táʔe*	*naˑs-ɬéˑntʼe*
Tlingit	*ƛeˑ-duˑšú*	*daχ-aduˑšú*	*nasʼg-aduˑšú*	*guˑšúq*

Figure 5 Numbers 1–4 and 6–9 in Tahltan and Tlingit

The Tlingit term for 'nine' is not obviously derived from 'four' (but note the resemblance between *guˑšúq* and /-(a)duˑšú/); thus, Tahltan 'nine' is not a direct calque from Tlingit. However, Tahltan 'nine' is built on the same template as Tahltan 6–8, and its structure should therefore indeed be regarded as Tlingit-inspired. Note further that while Tahltan 'one', 'two', 'three' (as well as 'five') have Athabascan etymologies (see Nater 2016:113–114 and Rosenfelder 2016 (under the rubric 'Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dené') for cognate forms), I have so far not been able to determine the source of *ɬéˑntʼe* 'four'.

5   Final observations

In the following subsections, I consider morpho-semantic aspects of copied vocabulary, socio-cultural factors, and the pseudo-suffix /-a, -e/.

5.1 Semantic and morphological aspects of copied vocabulary

Most Tlingit-based Tahltan vocabulary consists of nouns (sixty-four) pertaining to tradable items (food, fishing gear, tools, clothing, man-made structures, domestic animals, etc.: entries 1–8, 10, 12–23, 27–34, 36–38, 40, 42, 44, 45, 48–50, 52, 56–66, 69–74, 76–78, 81, 84, 86, 87). Fourteen nouns refer to non-tradable things commonly seen in the Tahltan-Tlingit region (flora, fauna, natural features and phenomena): (11) 'stinging nettle', (25) 'valley', (35) 'avalanche area', (39) 'jackpine', (46) 'spring water', (47) 'burl', (51) 'northern lights', (53) 'red willow', (55) 'deer', (67) 'phoebe', (68) 'chickadee', (83) 'ocean', (85) 'night hawk', (89) 'pitchwood'. Four nouns have to do with societal status: (75) 'effeminate man', (79) 'whiteman', (80) 'widow', (82) 'mother'. The remaining two nouns that refer to non-tradable items are: (9) 'wart' and (54) 'urine odor'. Non-nominal copies are rare: two pseudo-adjectives ((24) 'crazy, insane', (26) 'being fine, doing well') and three verb stems ((41) 'pray', (43) 'punch', (88) 'shoot').

The following diagram summarizes the distribution and morphological status of copied Tahltan lexicon.

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                         copied lexicon



  nouns (84)              verb stems (3)        pseudo-adjectives (2)
  M O R P H O L O G I C A L L Y   I N T E G R A T E D       S T A N D − A L O N E
```
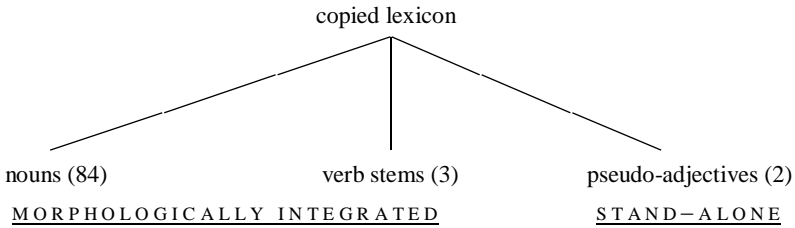
Figure 6 Copied lexicon: distribution and morphology

Tlingit-based nouns and verb stems are "morphologically integrated" insofar as most copied nouns can be combined with possessive affixes and undergo morpheme-final consonant voicing (see Nater 1989:32), while copied verb stems accept verbal prefixes (but are immune to allomorphy, cf. Nater 2006:57–59 on invariable verb stems in Tahltan):

t'oˑq 'wart'   →   met'óˑɢe 'his wart'
gʷeɬ 'sack'   →   ʔesgʷéˑle 'my sack'
ʔúnaˑ 'gun'   →   ʔənʔúnaˑ 'thy gun'

√gaˑg 'pray'   →   dadénesgaˑg 'I pray'
√goλ 'punch'   →   naníˑhgoλ 'I punched it'
√ʔuˑ 'shoot'   →   ŝiˑt'úˑ 'we shot'

In contrast, pseudo-adjectives cannot, unlike true adjectives and adjectival roots, be applied as an affixal qualifier. Consider the examples below, where (c2) and (d2) are not acceptable:

(a1)   ʒaˑ ʔat'é   'he is (ʔat'é) bad (ʒaˑ)'
(a2)   díˑdéne-ʒaˑ   'this (díˑ) bad (ʒaˑ) man (déne)'

(b1)   ʔu-čóh   'he is (ʔu-) big (-čóh)'
(b2)   díˑdéne-čoˑ   'this (díˑ) big (-čoˑ) man (déne)'

(c1)   skádi ʔat'é   'he is (ʔat'é) insane (skádi)'
(c2) *díˑdéne-skádi   'this (díˑ) insane (skádi) man (déne)'

(d1)   sóga ʔat'é   'he is (ʔat'é) doing well (sóga)'
(d2) *díˑdéne-sóga   'this (díˑ) well-doing (sóga) man (déne)'

This bias against applying native morphology to the two copied adjectives is likely linked with the nominal status of Tlingit sagú 'joy' and un-adjectival structure of skádi (Tahltan post-nominal adjectives seldom exceed /-CVCV/).

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5.2 Socio-cultural considerations

Bound forms (and morphological processes in general) normally resist copying (cf. Mithun 2013, Nater 2014), and one would not expect verb stems to be exempt from this rule. However, similarities in verb templates (Leer 2008:1), together with increased bilingualism, do account for the sporadic adoption of a verb stem (again, cf. Mithun 2013). Regarding intimate Tahltan-Tlingit contact, note:

> Reviewing the events set forth in these family narratives, which, taken together, constitute all that there is of tribal history, it appears that at some early period a general westward movement prevailed among the interior people. It was not a wave of migration, as of a vanquished people fleeing before an enemy, but rather a restless wandering of bands or families seeking new homes. The routes followed were naturally along the rivers and lakes until the headwaters of the Taku and the Stikine were reached. Here favorable conditions seem to have been found and permanent camps were made. … With natural increase and the accession of new parties the westward movement was resumed down the rivers to the coast. Here they met the Tlingit, a more aggressive and virile people, among whom, through intermarriage and environment, they forgot the ways of the trail and the woods and became sea hunters and fishermen. Then in generations following when the coast and the interior peoples had come in contact, individuals drifted back to the homes of their forefathers, strangers to the mother tongue and the simple life of the Dene, bringing with them the superstitions and the traditions of the coast, together with the social organization and the elaborate ceremonials, that have for their end the glorification of family in the display of the totemic emblems. Intercourse through trade relations was likewise responsible for these changes, but in a lesser degree. (Emmons 1911:20–21)

It is these "strangers to the mother tongue" who first facilitated the transfer, most likely via their peers and offspring, of Tlingit vocabulary to Tahltan.

Tlingit cultural influence is evident in Tahltan traditions and paraphernalia (dances, ceremonial blankets, Wolf vis-à-vis Crow moieties, matrilineal descent, etc.). On the origin of Tahltan matriarchy and moieties, Emmons 1911 notes:

> The eastern divisions of the Nahane are said to be patriarchal in government, with but a loosely organized social system. It is probable that the Tahltan were originally the same; but at some later period they borrowed the social organization of their Tlingit

neighbors of the coast, which is founded on matriarchy and is dependent on the existence of two exogamous phratries which marry one with the other and which supplement each other on all occasions of ceremony. These phratries are known as Cheskea da, 'one family raven,' and Cheona da, 'one family wolf,' and from their principal totemic emblems may be thus distinguished as Cheskea, Raven, and Cheona, Wolf. Of the former there is but one family, the Kartch-ottee; of the latter there are three families; the Tuck-clar-way-tee, the Tal-ar-ko-tin, and the Nan-yi-ee. Besides the phratral crest which is the birthright of every individual, the subdivisions or families assume other emblems, which may be displayed to the exclusion of the former. In explanation of this subdivision among the Tlingit I believe that originally the phratries consisted of two families and that with the increase in numbers, parties went forth to seek new homes and in time took upon themselves the functions of independent families and assumed new crests while always retaining that of the phratry. Strange people coming among them took their places as separate families within the group. (Emmons 1911:13–14)

In my notes, however, *cəsk'í·ye* ("Cheskea") consistently translates as 'crow', and the Tahltan moieties/phratries are *Cəsk'í·ye* 'Crow' and *Č'iyó·ne* ("Cheona") 'Wolf' (with /ꞏda/ 'about' (not *'one') added in Emmons' notes). Emmons' "Tal-ar-ko-tin" is *Talá·go·t'i·n* 'an ethnic division' (my notes) (/talá·ga(h)=ho-t'i·n·/ 'people (/-t'i·n·/) of (/-ho-/) *Talá·ga(h)'* (cf. /ta-/ 'pertaining to (body of) water', /√la/ 'hand, branch', /ꞏgah/ 'along')), but I cannot identify "Tuck-clar-way-tee" (cf. *taƛ'áh* 'Dease Lake' and /…ho-t'i·n·/ 'people of …'?), "Kartch-ottee" (cf. /…ho-t'i·n·/ 'people of …'?) and "Nan-yi-ee".

5.3 The pseudo-suffix /-a, -e/

In Nater 2016:115, an enigmatic element /…a/ (with single occurrence) was identified; however, it was at the time unclear whether this /…a/ was a petrified suffix or reduplicated vowel. But it has since been established that this element – along with allomorphic /…e/ – occurs in words other than *koŝa* as well, and that it is indeed suffixal in nature. Although the exact origin and function of /…a, …e/ in entries 13, 21, 23, 29, 33, 38, 39, 40, 46, 47, 53, 54, 75, 77, 83, 86, 89 still cannot be determined with certainty, it is evident that /…a, …e/ is, except in entries 53 and 54, preceded by a consonant that either remained or became voiced after a word was copied from Tlingit and /…a/ or /…e/ was added. (A connection with proto-Athabascan */-əʔ/ 'inalienable possession' (as in 'bark', 'gristle') and/or */-ə/ (undefined) (as in 'trail', 'little') (Krauss & Leer 1981, pp. 191, 195, 200) is moot.)

   Voicing associated with a following (originally suffixal) vowel is a familiar phenomenon in Tahltan (cf. Nater 1989:32), and it is therefore likely that Tahltan /…a, …e/ was added – as a pseudo-suffix – to Tlingit loan words in

order for neologisms to conform to the common CV́JV morphemic structural pattern (J = any voiced consonant) as found in e.g. *yáˑze* 'small', *ĉéẑe* 'every', *t'óǯe* 'milk', *ŝúˑλe* 'drinking straw', *béde* 'food', *dége* 'be off!', *díˑɣi* 'tea'.

Finally, note that the allomorphs /-a/ and /-e/ are almost evenly distributed, while they are in free variation in 'jackpine' and 'pitchwood'.

with /-a/   with /-e/

(21) *ŝáˑga* 'eulachon'   (13) √*naˑwe* 'medicine'

(33) *λ'úˑga* 'coho'   (23) *c'eqóhɢe* 'skin canoe'

(38) *gáˑẑa* 'forked tent pole'   (29) *čáˑẑe* 'humpback salmon'

(46) *gúˑna* 'springwater'   (40) *gáˑne* 'smoke vent'

(54) *kóŝa* 'urine odor'   (47) √*gúˑλe* 'burl'

(77) *k'ʷáˑɢa* 'coho'   (53) *keⳐˑsese* 'red willow'

(83) *ʔéˑλa* 'sea, ocean'   (75) *q'aχáˑne* 'effeminate man'

(86) *ʔáˑseda* 'steelhead'

(39) *gáˑẑa, gáˑẑe* 'jackpine'

(89) *déˑla, déˑle* 'pitchwood'

Figure 7 Distribution of pseudo-suffixal /-a/ and /-e/ in copied lexicon

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